342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was *erected on crotched poles set in the ground and* the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there."
[184 541] The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

343 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 The subsistence of the tular region was
262 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (čé´mčem) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal 1929

159 father and is older than P.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo;
756 there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti,
T Y was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer,
221 the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When P.M. was about eighteen years old
T Y they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

P.M. named a few sites, the location of
621 which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo
131 village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wa in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ´n"wao, was east of Čena"a. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above P.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which P.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y Houses at Sototlo were conical, never
342 gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s·ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and
T Y about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were
[354] about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The
T "brush" house was called ya´w·l ti´'i; that
Y ● covered with tule, pumuk ţi´'i.[128]

● 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. P.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yaudanchi.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS12

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two T Y [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men T Y 517 usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

103 24. patwi ´ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns [143]
25. bai ´o ´ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama ´o: a sharp peak
27. usta ´nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta ´o
29. ho ´ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi ´yo
31. šaiw·ta ´o
32. dai ´a ´pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai ´apnu ´ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada ´o
35. pupuna ´o
36. kuč·npida ´o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanh·nta ´o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. muču ´npida ´o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye ´du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču ´mnyu
41. yoko ´l: Yokod village
42. čaha ´šana ´o
43. čun·ta ´o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna ´pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača ´mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa ´una ´o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi ´š·nyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačik·na ´o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. čoho ´mina ´o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čaš· ´ša (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris (Morse?) Ranch; duda ´dyu, Arthur Ragle's [?] place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi ´li, Stokes Flat [?]; dono ´ñwiyu; čai ´´oč; pupu ´na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onomatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

342 The Central Foothill culture included
● 343 structures of both mountain and valley types. The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

[143] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[P. 60b]

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states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

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Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

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A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

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The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

343 old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[148] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles,

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[148] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Koso (cf. ibid., 590, pl.56).

343 [824] one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

The sweat house, mosh or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342 Dwellings.--The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

[149]The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150]Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.646]

342 then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

343 The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by them at summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).[156] (M.L., M.P.)

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[156] The type of shelter depicted by Gifford (Northfork Mono, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64c] Wukchumni

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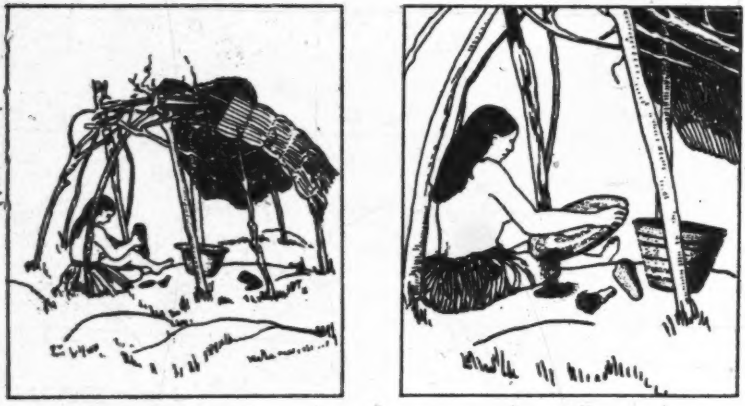

a b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ́ńiu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.---A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of [621] provisions, more acorns would be bought from someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

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[157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that
[343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No
845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was
755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized
[237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či''up, či''up, či''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

[787] The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's
[412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

[P. 145b] Western Mono NS25

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɨn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

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Dwellings.---A house was called tomo´'hɨš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wɨts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šɨč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[353 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

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The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ša) was played there.

[533 524]

Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

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[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns,
262 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or colander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

[P. 155a] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats
175 the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

● 343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[514] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mːs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tːl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nːt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanːt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wːsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pːč (brook trout).

[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841] There was no separate hut for birth or
● 343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the
[856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed
789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put
553 on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] [611] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[P. 172 b] Kechayi

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son·l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.---This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil·t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
751 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.---This dance was called no´·n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h·l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho´·n ṭ·pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 186 9] Chuckchansi

STRUCTURES

● 343 Sweat house.---The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

343 The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old 515 and very young men did not use it. Some men 517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand [534] game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex- [533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.---The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in- [184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't [171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

● 343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 Storehouses and granaries.--A special
251 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
223 by their neighbors, should their food become
224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty 343 sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 9] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa'ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

285 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o'yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
[272] mentation (toward upper right, second from top); the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

352 Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
854 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938). All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[924 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
284] was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

W [LP. 216 b] [redacted] Mono NS 25
Y

342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W Y ●343 Shades (ci´nu'ăš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain. They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

[514]

W Y 343 Storehouses.---The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

251 Storage bins.---Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna'ăts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 217 9] Western Mono NS25

W Y 343 251 high was set up, and in a squared position about it were erected four shorter forked posts. Four tie beams connected the corners, and across these was laid a flooring of small logs. Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

W Y 343 Sweat house.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an average-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

W Y 343 515 Two "brush" fires were built, one on each side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires' heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of ex-

W Y 343 515 clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513] Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tuñao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533 No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile ḱ·č) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u ́ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y 291 [439] Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´ṭ:l, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´p:n ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´n:s a´tm:n šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for

W Y 223 snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´nam:n' for short, just like slang."

W [P. 221C] Western Mono NS25
Y

423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
W the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited
343 conditions. A beam to sit on was the main consideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu'na) like the Michahai
825 pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
Y tame" (B.O.).

223 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
343 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[162]

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[162] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
W Y EP. 246 a Western Mono NS25

796 take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take 276 it at the same time as the plain people. There [756] were more men than women partakers: the men [751] "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa ´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. W Y Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons [343] assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'inin* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, pounded into flour, and cooked.

[251 343] Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

[415 324] Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

[415 177] The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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A Chukaimina house which stood in Squaw Valley, Fresno County, about 1900. Except for the boards and metal stove pipe, it is like those built by that tribe before the white people came to Squaw Valley.—Photo by courtesy of Mr. A. D. Overholtzer, Squaw Valley Corners.

The *Chuk'-chansi* and *Gashowu* on Fresno and San Joaquin Rivers built a cone house similar to that of the Yaudanchi, but covered it with thatch. The floor of this house was generally lowered about a foot with a digging stick. The door faced the south. The house was about twelve or fifteen feet in diameter. It was called *Ho*, meaning to live, or sit. They also built a house covered with bark and brush thatch, which they called *Siamsh*.

When camping or traveling, the Yokuts built smaller and less permanent structures. These were formed by leaning poles together and covering them with bark or brush. They were the temporary shelters so often described by early settlers in the San Joaquin and were practically the only houses built after the Indians had been dispossessed of their permanent village sites.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

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The sweat house was oblong and generally excavated to a depth of two or more feet. It had a heavy ridge which rested on poles at the ends. Over this ridge were laid poles which were

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and 515 stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. [512] In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every Indian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Headman, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

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Acorn granaries and a Chukchimne Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wih'-sid*, by the In-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Pidgeon blind built by **Chumsuh**, a **Koyeti**, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it.. The wild birds would almost imediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously. 224

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

I think most of the houses had been burned, because I remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house. 159 342

It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came. [354]

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Maws.* 159 343

The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.) 159 342

Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to